

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ABU DH 00697 021133Z

44

ACTION INR-07

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 EUR-12 NEA-09 ISO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00

DODE-00 /035 W

----- 068795

R 021045Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2675

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY DAMAYVUS

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 554

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY SANAA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBWUSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T ABU DHABI 0697

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PINR, XF

SUBJ: INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ESTIMATE ON THE MIDDLE EAST

REF: STATE 71859

1. WE DO NOT HAVE COMMENTS SO MUCH AS QUESTIONS ABOUT ANALYSIS  
IN REFTEL.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ABU DH 00697 021133Z

2. IT SEEMS TO UICIT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ADDRESS QUESTION OF LIKELIHOOD OF OU  
BREAK OF WAR WITHOUT SOME EVALUATION OF DEGREE TO WHICH EACH SIDE HAS USED PAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS TO IMPROVE ITS MILITARY CAPABILITY AND28EQXNLLY IMPORTANT--WHAT WE THINK EACH SIDE'S PERCEPTION OF THAT CHANGED MILITARY EQUATION IS. SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS IS OF COURSE IMPORTANT FACTOR IN WAR/PEACE ESTIMATE, BUT IT IS NOT WHOLE STORY. SADAT IS NOT GOING TO GO TO WAR UNTIL HE FEELS MILITARIL Y  
PREPARED FOR IT. WHAT ABOUT DELIVERIES OF WEAPONS FROM USSR, TRAINING ON THOSE WEAPONS, AND PROGRAMS TO PUT INTO EFFECT LESSONS LEARNED IN OCTOBER 1973? DO WE JUDGE THAT THESE QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE FACTORS WILL ALREADY BE IN PLAY BY THIS SUMMER, OR THAT THEY WILL NOT COME TO FRUITION UNTIL SOME LATER DATE?

3. WHAT ABOUT ELEMENT OF SURPRISE? THIS WAS IMPORTANT COM-  
PONENT OF ARAB "VICTORY" IN 1973, AND SADAT KNOWS IT. BY TIME HE CROSSED CANAL ON OCTOBER 6 HE HAD BEEN SEEN RUNNING THOSE BRIDGE SEGMENTS UP TO CANAL DOZENS OF TIMES, SO THAT WHEN HE LAUNCHED THE REAL MCCOY, THE ISRAELIS, BY THEIR OWN ADMISSION, FIGURED IT WAS JUST ANOTHER TRAINING EXERCISE. BUT AT PRESENT TIME, IT SEEMS TO US IN THIS ADMITTEDLY DISTANT OUTPOST, ISRAELIS MUST BE COCKED AND READY TO GO. IS SADAT LIKELY TO LAUNCH SOMETHING IN FACE OF MAXIMUM ISRAELI READINESS, AND AS REFTEL POINTS OUT, OF ASSUMED ISRAELI WILLINGNESS TO USE BAREST EXCUSE TO LAUNCH THEIR OWN PREEMPTIVE STRIKE? IS HE RATHER NOT LIKELY TO STRIVE FOR SOME PLOY TO GET ISRAELIS TO RELAX THEIR GUARD TO SOME EXTENT, EVEN WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT ARABS CANNOT EXPECT TO ACHIEVE SAME DEGREE OF SURPRISE THAT THEY DID IN 1973? REOPENING OF SUEZ CANAL MIGHT BE SUCH A PLOY, BUT ON OTHER HAND IT MORE PROBABLY SEEMS MOVE TG FILL UP ANY DANGEROUS PSYCHOLOGICAL VACUUM CREATED BY SUSPENSION OF KISSINGER NEGOTIATIONS, ESPECIALLY IN TERMS OF POLITICAL PRESSURES SADAT MAY BE FEELING ON THE HOME FRONT.

4. ON QUESTION OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH OIL EMBARGO OR PRODUCTION CUT MIGHT BE IMPOSED, WE ALSO FIND ANALYSIS IN REFTEL TO BE SOME-  
WHAT SUPERFICIAL. IT IS WORTH RECALLING THAT IT WAS NOT OUTBREAK OF WAR PER SE IN 1973 THAT CAUSED EMBARGO TO BE DECLARED, BUT CONGRESS' HEADLONG RUSH TO VOTE \$2.2 BILLION GRANT ASSISTANCE, ACTION WHICH STRUCK EVEN NORMALLY PHLEGMATIC GOVERNMENTXSUCH  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ABU DH 00697 021133Z

AS SAUDI AS SO FLAGRANTLY ONE-SIDED THAT THEY FELT COMPELLED TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST US. IN ANY FUTURE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES, THEREFORE, HOW US COMPORTS ITSELF ON EVENTS LEADING UP TO RENEWED HOSTILITIES, AS WELL AS IN CRISIS ITSELF, WILL IN OUR JUDGMENT HAVE BEARING ON WHETHER AND HOW OIL WEAPON IS USED AGAIN.

5. ANALYSIS IN REFTEL APPEARS TO SUFFER FROM HAVING ATTEMPTED TO BE TOO BRIEF, QUALITY WE GENERALLY ADMIRE IN DEPARTMENT'S MESSAGES

BUT IN THIS CASE FIND HAS LEFT IMPORTANT ANGLES UNADDRESSED. WE WOULD  
BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN ANY ASSESSMENT INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY  
CAN GIVE US ON ARAB/ISRAEL MILITARY EQUATION IN ANSWER TO QUESTION  
POSED PARAS 1 AND 2 ABOVE.  
STERNER

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL STABILITY, WAR, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, COMBAT OPERATIONS, MILITARY PLANS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 02 APR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975ABUDH00697  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X2  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750113-1160  
**From:** ABU DHABI  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750491/aaaadezn.tel  
**Line Count:** 120  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION INR  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 75 STATE 71859  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 16 JUN 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <16 JUN 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <17 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ESTIMATE ON THE MIDDLE EAST  
**TAGS:** PINR, XF  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006